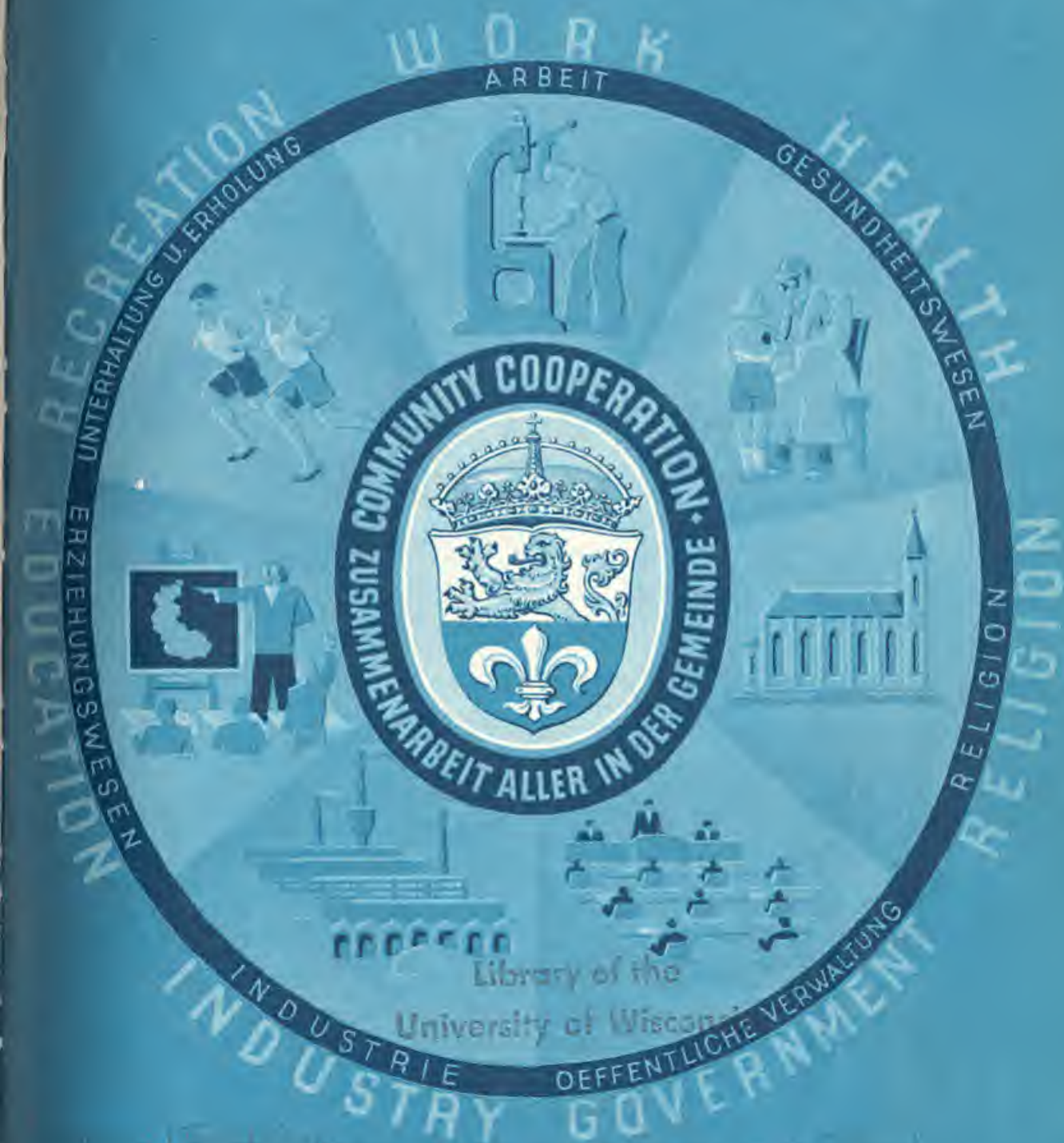


ARMSTADT COMMUNITY SURVEY **DARMSTADT** GEMEINDE-UNTERSUCHUNG

by

von

HENRY J. MEYER H. ASHLEY WEEKS



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DARMSTADT COMMUNITY SURVEY

Development of Local Community Research in Germany

by

HENRY J. MEYER
and
H. ASHLEY WEEKS

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October 1949

FOREWORD

Where do the functions of trade unions begin and where do they end? In my opinion, no precise answer can be given since the basic objectives pursued by labor organizations are so closely tied in with other phases of community well-being that no sharp delimitations on the sphere of trade union activity can be drawn. However, the extent to which such manifold responsibilities can be carried out depends, in the final analysis, on an understanding of the interrelationships between the various aspects of social, economic, and cultural life.

It is evident that the structure of modern society, particularly of highly industrialized nations, has become increasingly complex. Consequently, a precise understanding of social and economic problems and the appropriate methods for their solution has become more and more difficult. While specialized studies have much to contribute to such an understanding, it must also be recognized that society is a living organism which cannot be understood unless the interrelationships are also made apparent.

The Darmstadt Community Survey, described in the following report, is an effort to see the problems of a particular locality as a whole. The very circumstance that the work cannot be carried on without the assistance of community groups indicates that cooperation among these organizations is correspondingly essential to the solution of the problems.

While this project was undertaken primarily in order to assist trade unions, employers' associations, and other community groups in dealing with problems of living and working conditions of the members of the community, it is hoped that the survey will also demonstrate to German social scientists and universities the need and value of empirical social research.



H. W. BROWN
Director
Office of Labor Affairs

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NOTES ON THE AUTHORS

Henry J. Meyer, Associate Professor of Sociology at New York University, received his Ph.D. degree at the University of Michigan in 1939. While at Michigan, he held a fellowship for research in the metropolitan community and conducted urban research in Detroit. In the summer of 1942, he was staff sociologist for a community workshop at Albion, Michigan sponsored by the University of Chicago and the University of Michigan. From 1942-1945 he was on the labor mediation staff of the National War Labor Board, and in 1945 was Vice-chairman of the Board's National Telephone Commission. In 1946, he served as Chairman, National Wage Stabilization Board, Region IV, Atlanta, Georgia. Activity in the field of labor relations has continued with service on the Arbitration Panels of the U. S. Conciliation and Mediation Service, New York State Board of Mediation, New Jersey State Mediation Board, and the American Arbitration Association. His major field of teaching since coming to New York University in 1946 has been industrial sociology.

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H. Ashley Weeks is at present Associate Professor of Sociology at New York University, teaching courses in methods and techniques of social research. He received his doctorate in sociology from the University of Wisconsin. From 1935 to 1936, he was Chief Statistician at the Wisconsin State Office of the WPA. He taught in the Department of Sociology, State College of Washington from 1936 to 1943. During the war (January 1943 - January 1946), he served on the staff of the Troop Attitude Research Branch, Troop Information and Education Division, War Department. In October 1946, he became Research Director in the European Command carrying on attitude research studies among occupation troops. He served in this capacity until the fall of 1948.

DARMSTADT COMMUNITY SURVEY

Development of Local Community Research in Germany

PURPOSES OF THE SURVEY

The community survey of Darmstadt, a town of about 85,000 population located in Land Hesse, U. S. Zone, marks perhaps the first effort by German social scientists, in cooperation with community organizations, to conduct a survey of an urban community. Apart from introducing a type of empirical social research, which had been forbidden under the Nazi regime and which had been neglected owing to the traditions of German academic social science, the survey was undertaken primarily in the view that community studies would be of practical value to trade unions, employers' associations, and other community organizations.

During the last 20 years, community social research has become widely accepted in many countries where it has proved useful to groups devoted to community well-being by showing clearly not only the problems and activities of the community, but also the close interrelationships between various phases of community affairs. As a result, community organizations have been assisted in pursuing their objectives with more effectiveness and greater success. There can be little doubt that social research will be found equally valuable in Germany as knowledge of social research methods and techniques becomes more widespread, and as research findings are presented.

In this connection, it may be of interest to illustrate the uses to which specific community surveys conducted in the past have been put by community organizations. For example, labor groups have made use of survey results in getting needed legislation passed and in their collective bargaining activities. The findings of a study of the health and housing conditions of bituminous coal miners, conducted by the federal government, have played a part in the demands of the United Mine Workers for betterment of their economic conditions.

NOTE: The views herein expressed are those of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of U. S. Military Government.

The United Automobile Workers conducted a study of housing conditions and other economic relations which resulted in more favorable conditions for the employees living in the River Rouge and other areas near Detroit. The United Steel Workers used its study of the standard of living of steel workers' families and how they managed with their incomes in order to evaluate closely the cost of living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This helped effectively in getting needed benefits in their collective bargaining with management.

Survey results are used constantly by industry which annually spends millions of dollars in market research so that a product can be sold more effectively. For example, an automobile firm sends to car owners, from time to time, a questionnaire asking them to indicate what they wish to have most in the way of an automobile. These surveys are considered in designing new models which the concern produces. Periodic surveys are also made of motion picture preferences. Findings are very useful to the motion picture industry in deciding upon stories and types of films to use.

Participation in community affairs as a means of furthering community welfare, besides being of direct benefit to the members of the community, is recognized as a main source of strength of any democratic society. This objective is of special significance for the German labor movement upon which rests much responsibility for developing and strengthening the basis for democratic action.

As representatives of a major segment of the German population (more than two-fifths of all employed persons belong to trade unions), trade unions must and do have a breadth of interest extending beyond the field of economic welfare. The welfare of trade union members and their immediate families involves, of course, all aspects of community life.

In order to serve their members, the trade unions must be concerned with health conditions, city reconstruction, a sound education for their children, recreational facilities for their sons and daughters - in short, all the manifold aspects which make up the life of their membership. Furthermore, as one of the largest organized groups, the trade unions have some responsibility for the welfare of the community as a whole.

Besides stimulating public interest in the project, the dependence of the community survey, such as that in Darmstadt,

upon the assistance of community organizations and local public agencies will also bring about a closer relationship between the participating groups - thus fulfilling one of the major objectives. Even before the project has been completed, the various types of community organizations will come closer to appreciating their interdependence.

By serving as a model experiment in "ground level" investigation, the Darmstadt Community Survey may also serve to foster an interest in academic circles of the value of social research as a significant field of higher learning. The project should also provide young people with an opportunity to become trained in scientific methods of empirical social research. This training, in which volunteer students from the Academy of Labor at Frankfurt (Akademie der Arbeit) constitute the largest single group of participants, could later prove invaluable when these young people assume their permanent positions in the trade unions, business, government, and universities.

DARMSTADT SELECTED FOR STUDY

Darmstadt, a war-damaged city of 85,000 population, was selected for study because it seemed to meet the requirements of the survey more adequately than any other urban community which might have been chosen. Firstly, Darmstadt is a medium-sized industrial town which is considered fairly representative of other cities of its kind in Western Germany. It suffered heavily from bombing raids which destroyed about 60 percent of its dwellings, to say nothing of the destruction or damage of industrial plants and other places of work. Thus, it could be used as an example of the adjustments being made to living under such conditions even four years after the end of the war.

Another reason for the choice was that Darmstadt is not a one-industry or specialized town. It is not a former tourist resort or city of a unique type such as Wiesbaden, Bad Nauheim, Offenbach, Heidelberg, or Marburg. Moreover, Darmstadt is sufficiently close (25 miles) to a larger city, Frankfurt, to be under its influence, but far enough away not to be dominated overwhelmingly by its size and importance.

Darmstadt is also a city with a fairly definite hinterland which could be studied in order to explore the reciprocal relationships between the urban and more rural environments.

Lastly, the city has some U. S. military and civilian personnel living within its confines. This was important in order to ascertain the reaction of the German population to occupation personnel. On the other hand, Darmstadt does not have a large number of Americans as do the cities of Heidelberg and Wiesbaden where U. S. Army and Air Force Headquarters are respectively located. Cities where large concentrations of troops and civilians are located cannot be viewed as representative of other cities.

ADMINISTRATION AND STAFF

German Management and Staff

The Darmstadt Community Survey is a German-directed project being conducted under German sponsorship. Financial support and necessary technical assistance have been given by Military Government in the belief that the German labor movement and general community interests will be furthered through this type of social research. 1/ In recognition of the vital role which the trade unions have in this study, arrangements were made with the Academy of Labor (Akademie der Arbeit), University of Frankfurt, to be the sponsoring agency.

Military Government provided the funds, in Deutsche Mark, to support the project, and the Academy of Labor has assumed the responsibility for the expenditure of these funds under a contract between Military Government and the Academy. The Frankfurt Academy of Labor has served as an important link between the project and the German labor movement.

The actual direction of the project and the responsibility for the research was placed by the Academy of Labor under the able direction of a young German economist and social scientist, Dr. H. G. Schachtschabel, formerly Dozent at the University of Marburg and now Professor at the School for Advanced Economic Studies (Wirtschaftshochschule) at Mannheim and Visiting Lecturer at the University of Heidelberg.

In turn, the Director appointed the members of the survey staff whose selection was necessarily undertaken with great care owing to the original nature of the project. The "research assistants", or what might be called "study directors" on similar staffs in the United States, had to have research experience and social training. The best way to meet these requirements was to

1/ Dr. Nels Anderson, Manpower Division, OMCUS, conceived the project, set forth its objectives, and outlined the general plan of organization. In his conception, the community was to be viewed as the setting within which the problems of labor and of labor organizations could be studied.

choose from persons who had already received their degrees of Doctor of Philosophy from a German university.

The three research assistants, one man and two women, who were finally selected met these qualifications. They had received their doctorates after having studied and written a dissertation in the social science field which gave them some independent research experience. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the research experience they had had, although carefully and scientifically oriented, was more in the nature of what might be called scholarship than empirical social research as it is carried on in the United States.

The other members of the scientific staff, the scientific assistant workers, were chosen from among applicants who had passed or were about to take their university examinations, but who had not yet done independent research or written their doctoral dissertations. Again, however, they were students who were specializing in the social science field: economics, political science, law, and sociology. One-half of those chosen were almost ready to take their university examinations, while the other half had already received their diplomas as political economists, or junior barrister, or had completed the course at the Academy of Labor.

All were well-qualified students willing and eager to work, to learn and to try new methods, but all had to learn what these methods were. Their background had qualified them in statistics, social work, labor relations, labor law, social organization, and methodology. The training in methodology acquired, it should be noted, is much more theoretical in the German tradition than a similar course would be in the United States.

The staff members were not only selected carefully according to their academic abilities and background, but equally important consideration was given to their personal qualifications. Since they were going to work together for more than a year under conditions of some strain and uncertainty, all staff members, including the clerical assistants, had to have well-integrated personalities which indicated that they could work well in a group.

It was not easy to get such a group together, but Dr. Schachtel's own enthusiasm and the interest in the idea of empirical research resulted in a sufficient number of qualified applicants to select the staff.

U. S. Technical Consultants

Inasmuch as the Darmstadt project represented a form of social research virtually unknown in Germany, three American specialists were made available to the staff for purposes of consultation on technical phases of the work. The writers of the present report stayed with the project for three months beginning in mid-July, and Dr. S. Earl Grigsby, from the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, who arrived in early July 1949, will remain through January 1950.

These Americans have worked with the German staff as an advisory team in the development of the project outline, the selection and formulation of the research objectives, and in the determination of methods to be employed for their achievement. The inclusion of a consultant experienced in rural sociology was a clear recognition that a comprehensive study of an urban community cannot be made without assessing the reciprocal values of the outlying areas. Particularly is this true of the city of Darmstadt which has been destroyed in large measure by war bombing with the result that large numbers of former inhabitants have been forced to take up residence in the surrounding areas and to commute to Darmstadt each day to work.

From the very outset, the American consultants have fully appreciated that they were here as advisors and not as directors or supervisors of the project. What has been and what has not been accomplished has depended, in the last analysis, on the German staff. In the give-and-take of planning and working together, the decisions made have at no time been imposed by the Americans, but represent the conclusions reached after thorough discussion by the entire staff. In many ways, this relationship is one of the most significant aspects of the association between the American consultants and the German staff - a relationship which is essentially democratic and educational because it allows the staff the fullest opportunity for self-development.

NATURE OF THE REPORT

The present report should be understood in the light of the role the consultants assumed and played. It is a report of their observations as participants in the work of the project. It does not attempt to record what they have done, but to recount what has happened during the three months they have been working with the staff. Because the work is still in progress and will not be completed before the beginning of July 1950, it must also be taken as an interim report of progress towards the final objectives. The final report can be written only after the work is finished, at which time a complete evaluation can be made.

The report which follows is divided into three parts:

1. What has been accomplished towards the research objective of studying the community of Darmstadt.
2. What has been accomplished towards the objective of educating and training the staff and others.
3. What has been accomplished towards the objective of stimulating interest and participation in the project by groups in the community.

An attempt will also be made to give an evaluation of the work in progress in each of these three spheres. Finally, an over-all evaluation will be made with some specific recommendations regarding the project.

PROGRESS TOWARDS THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

First Months of the Project

The research goal of the project is to conduct a scientific study of Darmstadt as a community in which people live and work. On looking back, the progress made towards this end can be seen as a series of stages in the development of a plan and schedule of work for the accomplishment of the specific research objectives.

The first phase of the project began in January 1949 with the selection of the director. In the first few weeks, the director recruited his research, clerical, and administrative staff, and

procured the necessary equipment. Altogether, including clerical and administrative personnel, there were ten men and seven women. Some staff members were Darmstadt residents, but most came from other areas and had to begin their work by learning their way about the city. Partly by design and partly by the circumstance of the housing situation, the rooms of the staff members are scattered throughout the city.

Since most of the major residential neighborhoods have staff members living in them, acquaintance with Darmstadt districts has therefore been made as participant observers. Each staff member was requested to keep a diary of his contacts with the local population and to use the vantage place of residence as a point of observation.

Work was begun in February 1948. 1/ Dr. Schachtschabel from the first adopted the point of view that the work of the staff should be an educational experience and not simply a working relationship. To this end, the entire staff was brought into the early planning and discussion of the project. Of particular interest is the fact that the clerical staff entered fully into this early planning and discussion on the same basis as the "research staff". The result has been to reduce the social distance between the university students and the other staff members, and to develop a manifest informality in work relationship so essential for a staff engaged in research work. The staff has continued to grow into a real working team.

The development of the research work was not without its growing pains. Inasmuch as the idea of community research was new, trial-and-error methods were necessarily employed to a great extent in the initial stage. It took time for the first objectives to be visualized. Progress seemed slow and some staff members became discouraged, one even to the point of resignation. But, as Dr. Anderson has put it, "in making mistakes and finding themselves, they were able to develop group loyalty and a capacity for self-criticism essential to team work." 2/ Moreover, although this was purely accidental, the trial-and-error period developed in the staff

1/ Working space for the project was made available in the building housing the Darmstadt Military Government offices and some German government offices. Especially mention should be made of the assistance given the project by Messrs. Patrick Radigan and Charles Lloyd, Chief and Deputy Liaison and Security Officers, respectively.

2/ Anderson, Nels "Community Survey-Project Inaugurated in Darmstadt." In the Information Bulletin - Magazine of U. S. Military Government, No. 162, 31 May 1949, p. 7.

members a greater appreciation of the value of scientific techniques in empirical social research. It should be mentioned that the original intention had been to have the American consultants available from the beginning of the project, but this aim could not be achieved for technical reasons.

"Structural Analysis"

Gradually the first plan of work emerged and was called "structural analysis". It consisted of an outline of different aspects of the city about which all available statistical information and descriptive materials were to be obtained. This information which came primarily from secondary sources was collected through contacts with official and private organizations, and requests in person to public officials, trade union officers, and directors of business and other institutions. The scope of these materials was wide, and the collection was painstaking.

The major divisions of the "Structural Analysis" were: history, geography, population, and the social, economic, political, and cultural structure. Each division was, in turn, subdivided into sections to which individual staff members were assigned. The three staff members who had completed their doctorates served as study directors and supervisors of the student research assistants. The information which had been collected was in process of being winnowed, selected and analysed when the consultants arrived.

It was immediately apparent to them that the huge mass of materials in the "Structural Analysis" represented only in part a useable collection of data for a community study. Although it is necessary, to be sure, to cover secondary sources and to find out everything which could be known in this manner, such materials had little life and, because they were unrelated to actual situations in the community, were often meaningless. The detail which was included, and the great effort expended to gather information which could be but of minor value in the final report indicated clearly that the staff was uncertain of its direction and the purpose of its work. They did not know what steps to take next. They were reaching - even overreaching - the limits of their experience.

The staff itself, particularly the director and the "study directors", realized the predicament. Seeking the way beyond the limited insight into community life which they could find in the

"Structural Analysis", they had begun to search for other ideas and for new methods to use in investigating the life of the city. They had begun to translate and discuss an American book on research methods. This led them to consider specific techniques such as the case study, life histories, questionnaires, etc., but it did not open to them the areas of investigation where the techniques might be applied. Therefore, the discussion of methods tended to be on a theoretical level and was largely academic. The staff was turning its mind in new directions, however, and the work they were doing was groundwork for a quickening subsequent development. They were conscious that they had to break new ground in their work and were trying hard to find a way to do so.

Social Science and Research Orientation

The thinking of the staff with respect to research problems and research methods when we arrived can be illustrated by an early incident. At the first staff discussion attended by one of the consultants he was asked as a first question. "What is the difference between 'social research', 'social investigation', and 'social survey'?" The staff seemed to feel that the orientation of their future work depended on the answer to this question. They were not satisfied with the reply that it really didn't matter what term was used, but that the important thing was the problem you set yourself and the methods you used to study the problem. It was not easy for the staff to see that the words were unimportant except in the light of the kinds of problems to be studied. In this first experience in consultation with the staff, the difference in thinking of these social science students and their counterparts in America became apparent. The method by which these differences could be worked out was adopted at this time and has been used continuously ever since. We always present our own points of thinking about a problem and our reasons for thinking the way we do, and then the staff must learn for themselves through their own thinking and by trying and doing.

It was our early feeling that, the sooner the staff began to consider which aspects of Darmstadt and its problems they wished to study, the sooner they would be able to learn to use the appropriate methods. Therefore, in each discussion with the staff the question was raised as to "what specific problems in Darmstadt should be investigated."

The activities of the staff were divided between working on the "Structural Analysis" and the staff meetings which the Director planned for almost every day during our first weeks. There was a

tenacious attachment to the book on research methods, much of which was actually without meaning and profit to the staff. The continued reading of the book was discouraged, and the considerations of problems to be studied was encouraged. Through their own thinking and discussion, the staff gradually turned in that direction.

The staff began to formulate questions which they thought were important for understanding life in Darmstadt. At first, the formulation of problems was uncertain and sometimes vague. For example, when each staff member was asked to prepare a statement of important problems such problems as these were mentioned: "preference for market or planned economy", "mutual influences of artists and citizens", "do Darmstadters again want an army", "influence of the unemployed in Darmstadt", "social changes resulting from the last war."

The specific research objectives developed, however, out of the discussion of such questions. The question as to whether the problems which the staff considered important were those which Darmstadters considered important led to the first direct field work with the population of the city. It was decided that all staff members should scatter to different parts of the city and interview several people selected at random to see what problems people, in general, considered important. This field experience, which was very stimulating to the staff, constituted another turning point in their approach to the possibilities of research in the community. It also proved rather conclusively to the staff that you could talk with people in Germany and get answers from them. Prior to this experience, the statement had frequently been made that you might be able to ask Americans such questions and get answers, but Germans were different and would not answer.

Out of such experiences, the staff reoriented its thinking about the research problems to be investigated. In early July, partly in response to a proposed set of specific researches suggested by us, the director and the study directors prepared a master outline of the problems to be investigated. This outline became the working guide for subsequent planning of the various fields of inquiry.

The major sections of that outline indicate the way in which the staff has conceived their study of Darmstadt. Although the integration of the sections into a final report may well differ from this outline, but it does contain the contemplated areas of study. The major divisions are as follows:

- I. Family Life in Darmstadt
 - A. Housing and living conditions
 - B. Income, property, and expenditures
 - C. Health
 - D. Attitudes toward life
- II. Youth Problem
 - A. Education
 - B. Occupational outlook and possibilities
 - C. Ambitions and attitudes
- III. Education, School and Church
 - A. Education of small children
 - B. The school system
 - C. Social structures of school children and teachers
 - D. Churches and their influence
- IV. Organizations
 - A. Official, or public, organizations
 - 1. City government and administration, other public institutions
 - B. Private organizations
 - 1. Occupational organizations: trade unions, employers associations, chambers
 - 2. Other organizations: cooperatives, charitable organizations, etc.
 - 3. Political parties
- V. Work Relationships
 - A. The employed worker
 - 1. Wages, hours, and working conditions
 - 2. Relationships of workers to management and to one another
 - 3. The works council and its functions
 - 4. Attitudes towards work and **occupation**
 - B. The unemployed
 - C. The special problems of the refugees and displaced persons
- VI. Cultural Life of Darmstadt
 - A. Institutions: theater, movies, press, radio
 - B. Participation of the population in cultural life
- VII. "Moral Relationships" in Darmstadt
 - A. Offenders, criminals, prostitutes, etc.
 - B. Attitudes of the population towards such groups
- VIII. Public Opinion on Important Issues.

The scope of this outline indicates the great progress which the staff made in becoming aware of the elements of community life. It also reveals their inexperience because it includes more than can be accomplished with the time and work force available. The outline does represent the crystalization of staff thinking and brought the members out of one phase of the work into still another.

Work on Specific Methods of Research and Field Work

Upon completion of the outline, the staff was divided into groups to work out the appropriate ways for getting the information needed to fill in the outline. At this point, the formulation of methods and the construction of research tools began. It should be emphasized that, once again, this was another new and untried step for the staff.

Beginning with the study of the family, the director, the study directors, and the consultants worked out together the methods to be used. The methods followed illustrate how the work proceeded at this stage. It was decided to interview a small representative sample of Darmstadt families in order to secure the information desired. This meant first of all that a questionnaire or schedule had to be constructed. There were long hours of labor over the items to be included, the specific formulation and wording of questions, whether direct or indirect methods of questioning would elicit the best responses, and other important technical matters. Here, as elsewhere, the staff made its own decisions on the basis of the advice and suggestions offered. This task was more time consuming than if we had designed the research procedures, but the purpose of the project was better served by allowing the staff to think through its own problems and to understand the reasons behind the techniques they were to use.

When the preliminary work was over and the questionnaire drafted, it was discussed thoroughly by the entire staff and revised on the basis of their criticisms and suggestions. The revised questionnaire was pre-tested by having interviews with families in different sections of the city and again modified on the basis of this experience. The problem of getting a small but representative sample was discussed. It was discovered that such a sample could be secured by randomly drawing from the cards contained in the Housing Office (Wohnungsamt). Staff members worked out the details of the sample and finally drew it. They were very skeptical about using a small sample and, at first, insisted that they would have to interview several thousand families.

When the sample of approximately 500 cases selected from the Housing Office, proved to be representative on the basis of several known population characteristics in the city they became more convinced of the scientific validity of sampling methods and lost some of their scepticism.

Field interviewing began after the families to be included in the sample were selected. At present, the field work for the family study is almost completed, and preparations are being made for the coding, punching and machine tabulation of the data. Each step will be gone over with the staff so that it will know exactly what to do in completing the family study. This experience should enable the staff to carry out the same activities, when applicable in the other sections of the study.

The idea of using questionnaires was taken up with enthusiasm once the staff saw the possibilities. In fact, at times it appeared as if the staff would make questionnaires for each aspect of the study. More than once we felt like the sorcerer's apprentice who started the magic broom sweeping but could not stop it! It was demonstrated, however, that other techniques are more suitable for other objectives. Moreover, the staff began to realize the time and manpower that questionnaire interviewing requires.

Illustrations may be given of some different techniques which are planned for other sections of the work. In the study of school and youth, for example, the staff has planned theme topics (*Aufsätze*) in order to get brief essays on selected aspects of school and home life through which the attitudes, worries, and problems of school children will be projected. This technique supplemented by direct guided observation in classrooms and discussions with teachers will provide information and insight into school situations at different levels and in different social classes. Integrated with materials already collected about the school system, a well-rounded picture of school life should emerge.

Another illustration of research planning may be seen in the section on work relationships. Here again it was decided that a representative sample of workers would have to be interviewed, and a questionnaire was developed which covered work history, wages and hours, occupational interests, job satisfaction, work problems, participation in and attitudes toward trade unions and work councils, and information on personal relationships in the work situation. In addition, guides for interviews with selected plant managers and works council chairman have been prepared as well as observation guides to be used when visiting selected plants.

Data now being collected from the files of the Public Labor Office (Arbeitsamt) are already proving to be of great interest and value for understanding the present unemployment situation. A random sample of 1,500 cases is being drawn from the files of the Darmstadt Labor Office, and plans are being made to take an additional sample from each of the other work offices in the district (Bezirk). From the sample, interviews will be made with approximately 500 Darmstadt resident workers. Information as to place of residence, place of work, age, sex, occupational groups, marital status, and duration of unemployment is being obtained for the entire area. In this way, the characteristics of the labor market from which Darmstadt draws its labor force can be circumscribed. Information about commuters (Pendelarbeiter) which is unknown now and of universal interest will be available. It will be possible to estimate by sampling the number of people who work in Darmstadt and to describe their general characteristics. Strangely enough these are unknown facts, although their importance is obvious to everyone. Furthermore, information as to the location and characteristics of different categories of unemployed workers will be tabulated. Mr. A. Meyer, the district general secretary of the trade unions, has expressed particular interest in these data.

Different research techniques will be used in studying the church. Each of the churches in Darmstadt will be visited for four consecutive Sundays by staff members who will systematically observe and record what they see on the basis of prepared observation guides. This will be supplemented by guided interviews with selected ministers.

The phase of the community study dealing with the rural areas surrounding Darmstadt is being developed at the same time that the urban research is in progress. Two staff members from the Agricultural Faculty of the Justus Liebig Hochschule for Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine at Giessen have been recruited to work with Dr. Grigsby in this phase of the study. Investigations will be made to reveal not only the characteristics of life in the rural communities, but also to show the interrelations between Darmstadt and its hinterland. For this purpose the "rural" part of the study is planned in three parts. Firstly, the area of attraction to and influence of Darmstadt will be determined by the use of data on the labor force, marketing, newspaper circulation, and other such indices. Secondly, a reconnaissance survey of the surrounding small communities will be made to get a general picture of their characteristics and their relationship to the city. Finally, an intensive study of the social life in several of the smaller communities (Gemeinden) will be made using, where possible, parallel techniques and focusing on the same problems which are being investigated in the city of Darmstadt. In this way comparative information will be available.

Besides the Giessen students, staff members will work on the rural phase as the urban work tapers off and the rural work develops. A full description of this phase may be expected later.

Separate mention should be made of the study of the administrative procedures in public offices which is an adjunct to the community survey. At the request of the Civil Affairs Division, OMAGUS, which appropriated special funds, the director is supervising the work of an additional man engaged on a study of the organizational structure, administrative procedures, flow of work, and quality of service performed in certain selected public offices located in Darmstadt and the surrounding areas. This study is designed with these specific purposes in mind, but the data from this study will also be useful for understanding how government functions for Darmstadt citizens.

Setting a realistic work schedule

The staff is now busy on the specific tasks to be done: field work on the family, drawing the sample for the workers' interviews, revising and pre-testing the worker interview questionnaire, checking with teachers the wording of the "theme topics for school children", and many other detailed activities. Here, too, we feel somewhat like the sorcerer's apprentice. Having begun the exciting work of field research, the staff wants to plan to do more and more with only a small appreciation of the limitations imposed by time and personnel, but again another stage in the development of the research project seems about to appear. The director and the staff, particularly the study directors, are beginning to see the necessity for limiting their plans and for trimming the projected work to the possibilities of completing it.

Partly on the basis of prodding from their advisors, the director and the study directors are devising a work plan and time schedule by which they can direct and limit their work and measure their progress. They are beginning to face the fact that parts of their outline must be based on the materials already collected without new time consuming field studies. They are beginning to consider what cannot be done as well as what can be done. Before long we hope to see a realistic schedule of work to be done within the limits set by time and manpower.

Despite the promise of realistic scheduling of the work to be done, the greatest danger to the success of the research objective lies in the fact that the director and the senior staff members do not clearly appreciate the amount of time and work required to

complete what they have planned. Undoubtedly, they will see this better as each stage develops, but despite the warnings given and the verbal acknowledgment of the problem, the staff is still not sufficiently conscious of the length of time required for field work, analysis of data, and writing of reports. Of course, this shortcoming is not peculiar to this staff. It is what usually happens to the inexperienced when a research of this scope is undertaken. Learning what can actually be done is always a significant part of the educational experience of doing research. The final report will probably contain a long chapter describing specific studies which had to be postponed for the future.

In summary, the following types of data are now available:

1. a large amount of secondary data assembled and written up in the "Structural Analysis".
2. numerous notes on meetings, exhibitions, forums and other events recorded and filed.
3. records of conferences held with different groups in the community.
4. new primary data from the records of the Housing Office and the Public Labor Office.
5. direct data from a representative cross section of Darmstadt families collected through in-the-home field interview.
6. much miscellaneous information on the history, current events, etc. of Darmstadt.

Specific and detailed procedures for research on different problems have been drawn up and prepared for execution:

1. interview with a representative cross section of workers in Darmstadt on the basis of a carefully designed questionnaire.
2. interview guides for information from selected plant managements and works council chairmen.
3. projective essay topics for school children.
4. information lists, interview guides, observation guides designed for selected school teachers
5. self-administered questionnaires for older school children of the vocational and secondary schools (Berufsschule und Hoehere Schule).
6. observation guides for children attendance.
7. interview guides for ministers.
8. letter requesting specific information from selected voluntary associations to obtain the last year's program of activities.
9. various other information lists and guides for interviews to obtain needed information about cultural life, crime and delinquency.

10. detailed study of administrative procedures in selected government offices has been set up with specific methods for collecting other information (the CAD study).
11. instructions for assembly of data on the area of influence and service of Darmstadt.

It must be remembered that there is a great distance between the collection of data and its fruitful and significant analysis. The staff has come far since they began to think of problems to be investigated. But they still have a long way to go to see fully how to use the data which they are now equipped to collect. It seems probable that they will learn to analyse social data as they have learned to collect it. But more should not be expected from them than they can deliver.

We may summarize in general terms this section of the report on progress toward the research objective - to make a study of community life. The staff has moved from an abstract level to a concrete one, from general ideas to specific objectives, from ignorance of methods and techniques for collecting sociological data to the beginnings of knowledge and some practical experiences in using research tools. They will have much field work to complete. They must still learn the meaning and the skills of analysis to apply to the data collected. They must learn through practice the difficult art of writing up their materials with objective interpretation of data but with realism and with appreciation that they are writing about the dynamic social world of living people.

NOTE: It must be kept in mind that the observations made by the authors apply as of the completion of their report early in September. The pace of the survey continues to be slow and cautious. Staff members continue to be very conscious of the fact that they are doing in Germany a pioneer type of research. The development, however, is in the direction of a more solid understanding of the work and its objectives.

PROGRESS TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING OBJECTIVES

The objective of staff training and education is very important. When the research is completed and the final reports published, they will be a matter of history. Their effects may be great or small, of academic or practical significance, depending on the quality of the work and its reception from men of affairs and scholars. The educational experience of the participants in the work will, however, remain with them in all their future activities.

It is not easy to measure accomplishments of a subjective educational character. Knowledge acquired, skills learned, ideas developed can be recorded, but the effects of working and learning together can only be illustrated. An attempt will be made in this section to set down what educational processes have been observed among the participants in the Darmstadt project. Most directly and visibly affected are the staff members themselves. A second group to come within the educational influence of the project are the participants from other educational institutions, particularly the worker-students from the Academy of Labor in Frankfurt. Finally, a wider circle of persons, academic and otherwise, have felt the effects of the project.

The Educational Experience of the Staff

It should be recognized that much of what was reported under the research objectives of the project has its educational counterpart. The single most important educational experience of the staff has come from working together. "The staff" includes all regular participants in the work of the project, including the director, the "scientific staff", the clerical personnel, and the American advisors.

The formality of relationships between people in German society, particularly where different social levels are involved, is a general characteristic well established by many observers. A real development has taken place in the capacity of the staff to operate as an informal group, with a freedom of expression in give-and-take discussions of differing points of view among all social levels. Although the growth has been uneven and some elements of formalism can still be seen in the group structure, the work relationships have undoubtedly become more informal.

This progress can be attributed in the first instance to the orientation given to the group by Dr. Anderson and Dr. Schachtschabel.

The latter has made a deliberate effort to modify the traditional authoritarian role of professor and director so that he might become more of a working leader. In matters of research, Dr. Schachtel has not insisted that his point of view be carried out if it was contrary to considered staff opinions. To become a real working leader is not easy. It is at variance with the expected behavior of a director within German social structure. Furthermore, many of the staff members are students for whom the role of professor and "doctor father" has been quite different. At best, it is hard for a student to be free when differing with his professor. When the cultural pattern leads subordinate members to expect authoritarian direction, and defines the role of director in terms of authority, it is doubly hard for both subordinates and director to act in a different manner. The work of the staff has at least deviated from this tradition.

It has already been mentioned that the minor lines of stratification represented in the division of the staff into researchers and clerical personnel were ignored from the beginning by having everyone participate in every phase of the research work. Equally important has been the evolving character of the relationships between staff members on different levels of status. Some pronounced differences in these relationships have been observed within the three months of our work with the project.

The earlier sessions of the staff discussions frequently assumed the character of a lecture by one or two of the senior staff members. Instead of discussion, there was more often direct question and direct answer, frequently solicited by the leader. A diagram of the relationships at these early group meetings would look like a fan with the lines drawn directly to and from the leader. Although this pattern still exists, it has been modified in the direction of guided discussion rather than authoritative control. A diagram of the group interaction at staff conferences would now often show a network of inter-personal relationships directly between group members and not so often mediated through the leader. This change has been neither dramatic nor complete. Whenever for any reason, the situation becomes tense the tendency is, of course, to revert to the authoritative pattern. The development described has been fostered by the director and is consistent with his own conception of how the staff should work together.

Another indication of the change in group relations can be seen in the way the group behaves when the particular leader in charge leaves a staff discussion. Experiments have demonstrated that groups under very strong leadership typically become confused when the strong

leadership is removed. Such groups tend either to flounder ineffectively or to break up into conflicting segments until authority is restored through the presence of another strong leader. This pattern of group behavior was frequently exhibited in the early weeks of our work. It still occurs, but less frequently. Most of the time the group continues the discussion, moving toward the accomplishment of its purpose.

These observed changes can be explained in several ways. Firstly, the staff is more secure in its knowledge of its tasks. Secondly, the visiting Americans were first outsiders and a source of uncertainty to the staff, whereas they are now taken for granted as working members. In the third place, the fact that the staff has been working together on specific assignments - making questionnaires, interviewing together, etc. - has tended to informalize the relationships. Finally, the members of the staff as individuals seem to have recognized the advantages of greater informality and to act accordingly.

All education of the staff has not been at this subtle level. Specific knowledge and some skills have been acquired in two main ways. There has been some more or less formal instruction. From time to time, as the need arose, informal lectures and discussions have been held on such subjects as the nature of social science, scientific methodology, elements in the structure of community life, as well as on specific technical questions such as statistical sampling, public opinion polling, questionnaire construction, interview techniques, and so forth. The director and four of the senior staff members visited the Opinions Survey Branch, Information Services Division, OMCUS, and were given a complete explanation of public opinion polling from picking the sample through formulation of the questions, coding, machine tabulation and analysis. In the many discussions with small groups or individual staff members much interchange of information about research methods, sociological concepts and other subjects has taken place as well as an interchange of attitudes, philosophy and points of view.

The second way in which knowledge and skills have been acquired has been through the actual work. Every member of the staff has learned by doing, having done some interviewing, and having worked directly in the formulation of techniques and research instruments. In the performance of their work they were required to learn to record observations, to interview effectively, and to take interview notes. All have not learned equally well, and there are many important things about community research not yet learned. We have observed, however, a significant increase in the type of knowledge and skills required for social research.

A word should be said about the results which seem to have come from the fact that the staff has been working with Americans. A very friendly relationship between most staff members and the American advisors has developed. The cordial reserve with which they were treated at first has almost entirely worn off in the experiences of day by day working together. In the early weeks, disagreement with any of the "American Professors" was a matter for polite acquiescence, perhaps, or silence. Later, disagreement sometimes seemed to reflect the need for self-assertion, - the need to express psychologically a resistance to outsiders. Strained inferences that there were invidious comparisons between American and German ideas were sometimes made. More often now, disagreement is a matter of open opinion and the value of an idea is usually acknowledged on its own merits whether it comes from a German or an American.

Another aspect of this same relationship should be mentioned. From the very first day on, the Americans stressed the fact that they were on hand to advise. At first, almost daily the Americans urged the German staff to come to them if they had questions or problems about which they wished to ask. No one came. At present there is hardly a day that goes by but what the Americans are consulted many times. The entire staff seem now to consult with informal freedom and frequently bring the product of their work for discussion with their American colleagues.

These developments are primarily the result of continuous day-to-day working relationships over an extended period of time. They point up our conviction that the length of contact between American visitors and individual Germans is most important.

Participants from Other Institutions

In addition to the staff, a number of persons have participated in the work of the project for short periods of time. The training and experiences of these persons must be noted in appraising the educational accomplishments of the project. The largest number affected are from the Academy of Labor. There have been three kinds of educational relationship between the project and the students of the academy. Dr. Schachtschabel has twice lectured at Frankfurt to these students. In June, all students of the academy had a day's visit at the project where a conference with the members of the staff was held. Finally, starting August 8, 1949, small groups of Academy students have worked on the project as "volunteers" for a full week at a time.

The "volunteers" who have worked on the staff have been given a brief over-view of the purposes and conceptions of the project and have been quickly joined in the actual work which was being done at the moment. They have participated in staff discussions, group work on specific problems, family interviewing, and pulling the sample of workers' cards from the Public Labor Office. The staff has accepted these students readily, and the students have entered cooperatively into the work.

The best indication of what the participation has meant to the students can be seen from excerpts from the report which the first group submitted at the end of their week's work:

First day:

Arrival- friendly reception and welcome- simple but good enough quarters- introduction by Dr. Schachtschabel, scientific and objective kind of work, meaning and purpose of the work for us- talk by Dr. Meyer, U.S.A., some thoughts about the aims of the project and introduction to methods of social research. - Took part in discussion of questionnaires for works councils and employers about working conditions in Darmstadt. The work interests us very much and will be valuable to us.

Second day:

Two of us took part in the discussion of the questionnaire about working conditions, two about the moral habits. We found the first discussion group particularly interested in our practical experiences. In the afternoon, we had a discussion of public opinion.

Third day:

Participation in the discussion of the family questionnaire. Preparation for field work during the next days. This time we thought the discussion was rather tedious. The contacts with our co-workers become closer.....

Fourth day:

First field work- the experience is new even to us. For example the contact with the middle classes. We have already secured much valuable information about social problems. The interviewers, whom we joined, went to work very seriously and with great expectations. It was a new experience for all of us.

Fifth day:

Further interviewing which is generally successful, but the interviewers sometimes do not understand the meaning of the

answers. We are shocked over and over again by the personal problems and the contrasts we meet.

Sixth day:

The last day, we note that we have spent one week of our vacation very valuably indeed in Darmstadt. By getting acquainted with the materials our interest in the research work has increased daily. The relations to our co-workers which became more and more close helped much. The shortness of time, in relationship to the extent of the work, has only let us have a little glimpse into the fields of research. Even so our expectations were more than fulfilled. We want to show our appreciation by keeping up our connection with this research in the future. In our later work we will always remember that science tries to find the true facts and relationships in society. We want to build on this base. 1/

The participation of the Academy of Labor students has been most satisfactory. It has been valuable not only for the workers who have come into the staff and learned about research problems and methods, but it has been just as important for the regular staff who have thereby been exposed to new ideas, different points of view, and the practical experience of some of these students of labor.

In connection with the development of work in the surrounding rural areas, Dr. Rolfes, Rector of the Justus Liebig Hochschule at Giessen, was asked to recommend two agricultural students with an interest in rural sociology, a field also almost undeveloped in Germany. Several conferences were held with Dr. Rolfes, one of which involved an all-day discussion between him, his assistant and Dr. Grigsby about the specific objectives and methods to be used in the rural phase of the study. The two Giessen students added to the staff are participating in work which will help to train them not only for rural sociology but in the use of social research techniques generally.

Another group, this time from the local community, has come in contact with the project. Through arrangements with the director, Pfarrer Guyot, of the State-recognized Welfare School in Darmstadt, about sixteen social work students have begun to serve as volunteer interviewers in the family study. The project was explained to the students in a lecture by Dr. Schachtschabel

1/ Free translation from the German memorandum which is on file in the office of the study.

at the school, and much interest was expressed by the students. The training they will receive regarding the background of the study, the techniques of interviewing and in the interviewing which they do, will give this group a valuable educational experience. The project thereby has incidentally secured much needed interviewers for the field work which takes so much time and manpower.

Wider Educational Relations

The project has attracted attention from social scientists and university people from all parts of Western Germany. Professors from several universities have visited the project, and Dr. Schachtschabel has discussed with many university people the work which is being done in Darmstadt.

A general conference of interest to trade union leaders, public and business officials, as well as social scientists and university students has been planned for October 4 to 6, 1949 at Seeheim, a small town near Darmstadt. The conference is under the joint auspices of the Academy of Labor and the Manpower Division, OMGUS. Participants will be invited not only to hear reports of plans, methods and findings of the project to date, but also to give their critical comments and suggestions for the future research. About one-half of those invited are in positions of public or private administration, and it is anticipated that the discussion will not only embrace technical subjects but practical problems as well. Maximum participation by all will be encouraged by breaking up the conference into small working sessions during one day of the meeting.

NOTE: The conference took place as planned on 4, 5, 6 October. Some 110 guests from the trade unions, industry, offices of local government and several German universities were present. The discussion groups were led by members of the survey staff. All phases of the work were fully discussed. Community leaders, especially those from the trade unions, participated in all group discussions. The conference brought the survey close to the community and stimulated a more favorable interest on the part of the university groups represented.

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP TO THE PROJECT

In this section some of the ways in which the Darmstadt Community Survey has involved the members of and the groups in the community will be set down. Participation by trade unions, industry and business organizations, as well as by public and private agencies in the project is a major objective. Some relationships with local groups have therefore been the result of deliberate design, while others have been the result of a growing interest on the part of the community in the project as its work has become better and better known.

Meetings with Organizations

Beginning in July, discussion sessions between the staff of the project and important organizations in the city have periodically been held. A list of the nine groups with which meetings have been held follows:

- Trade Union Leaders (Freier Gewerkschaftsbund)
- Small Retail Businessmen (Einzelhandelsverband)
- Handicraftsmen (Handwerkskammer)
- Women's Organization, Darmstadt (Frauenverband)
- Industrial and Commercial Organization (Industrie- und Handelskammer)
- Teachers' Organization (Lehrerverein v. Darmstadt)
- Representatives of Music, Art, etc. Organizations sponsored by the City (Dezernent fuer Kulturwesen der Stadt, Leiter der Stadtkulturverwaltung, und die Leiter der Stadtkulturellen Einrichtungen)
- Social Workers in Public Welfare (Fuersorgerinnen der oeffentlichen Fuersorge)
- Youth Leaders (Vorsitzende des Jugendvereines)

The purpose of the meetings with these groups has been three-fold: 1) to learn about different interests in the city, 2) to develop in such groups a wider awareness of the problems in the larger community setting within which the organizations operate, 3) to inform each group in the community about the study, indicating the types of research being carried on, and some practical values such research may have for the specific organization.

Each meeting has also been a "group interview". A staff member has been assigned to record the salient features of each discussion and the character and tone of response to the topics discussed. The pattern of the meetings has by now become fairly uniform, although

there are variations to meet the particular situation. This pattern which evolved naturally after the first two meetings gives some comparability to the records of points of view and the reactions of the different organizations. Moreover, the meetings have served to broaden the perspectives of the staff participants and to increase their insight into community problems.

Each meeting has been chaired by Dr. Schachtschabel. After the first two meetings (with the small businessmen and the trade union leaders) only selected staff members have been present, but attendance has revolved so that most of the staff has had an opportunity to participate. The meeting is opened with a brief history of the project, and an explanation of the purposes and the general methods which are being employed. The financing of the project by the Manpower Division is mentioned, and the relationship with the Academy of Labor is explained. The participation of the "American scientific colleagues" is described. Lastly, the specific purposes of the meeting are set forth.

Questions from the group about the project and what it is doing are solicited, and are generally forthcoming. Then specific questions are put to the representatives of the organizations. These questions - or, more properly, topics for discussion - are designed, first of all, to learn about the organization itself, its structure, program, activities, and its relationships, if any, to other organizations. 1/ Next, specific problems falling within the scope of the group's interest are raised. For example, membership recruitment, organizational problems, and relationships with the work councils were discussed with the trade union leaders; school needs and school reform were raised with the teachers. Finally, the group is asked for its views on problems of general concern to Darmstadt, such as the reconstruction of the city, its industrialization, and other comparable problems.

These meetings are conducted with consummate skill. American visitors who can follow the subtleties of the discussion in German have confirmed our own observations. Dr. Schachtschabel succeeds in setting the tone and atmosphere of the discussion in such a way that responses come readily and freely. The instances where members of the groups express divergent points of view are perhaps the best index of the degree to which the discussion is an open one.

The conduct of the meetings differs somewhat from the more familiar pattern in the United States. There tends to be a greater degree of guidance and control of the discussion by the chairman than might be expected. The practice of little speeches by successive

1/ Such information is generally known to the staff and director before the discussion. The purpose of these questions is to hear the open discussion of the organization by its key members or functionaries.

persons on the subject at hand and the general formality of German meetings are also evident. Our experiences emphasize the importance of taking into account the German pattern of group discussion when meetings are planned and held.

At the end of each meeting, the chairman explains again that the aim of the project is scientific fact-finding and not the recommendation of policy. He points out, however, that the study is interested in producing the kind of research which has practical value to the community. The group is therefore asked whether it would designate one of its members to serve as liaison between the organization and the project, - a representative who can later serve as a member of a general committee to which the final results will be presented for such recommendations as the committee may wish to make. In every instance, the organizations have expressed willingness to participate in this way.

These meetings have stimulated interest in the study on the part of the groups involved. Usually someone from the organization subsequently makes contact with the project on his own initiative. Sometimes it is a request for information, such as the interest of the trade unions in employment and unemployment statistics now being gathered. Sometimes it is to know in a more detailed fashion about the specific research studies and methods being used. This was the case of a leading industrialist who participated in the meeting with the Chamber of Industry and Commerce. With the teachers' organization, it was to assist with the wording of the "theme topics" to be used in the study of youth and school children. For almost every group, there is a postscript to add to the record within one or two weeks after the meeting.

The contacts which are made through the meetings with different organizations are also important for the research work of the project. They facilitate the collection of information and gradually build up a group of key people in the community whose interest and assistance is fairly well assured.

These group meetings constitute a successful experiment. The project is building up a market for its research results among the leaders of the community. If they can be brought to see the value of objective community research and to use it in the consideration of community problems, a great step forward will have been taken. Furthermore, these meetings provide first steps towards the possible establishment of a committee of community organizations which will be in a position to deal with local problems in terms of the realities of their interrelationships. If the points of view of trade unions, business groups, women's organizations, teachers, and other groups

can be brought around one table to deal with common problems on the basis of factual materials, a new dimension of community participation in Germany will appear. This long range objective will depend on more than the Darmstadt Community Survey, but the project is making a concrete contribution toward that goal.

Contacts with Individuals in the Community

Research in the local community is always a two-way process. At the same time that researchers are collecting information they are stimulating interests and arousing curiosity on the part of the people with whom they come into contact.

In the files are what might be called crude sociometric diagrams of the contacts which the members of the staff made with local offices during the collection of the materials for the "Structural Analysis." No attempt has been made to count the exact number of the many such "contacts" made. In the course of these contacts, the work of the project was most often described, and it is therefore probable that a high proportion of key people, officials, and functionaries know something about the study and its purposes.

Field research is another level at which contacts are made. In the family study and the worker study more than one thousand homes will be entered by interviewers and in most of them the project will be explained - a prerequisite to successful interviewing as well as an aid in the establishment of community relations in a very real sense. Additional contacts through other interviews and other research techniques inform more individuals about the study being made in their community. Information spread through person-to-person contact is usually more effective than general publicity through the media of mass communication, such as the press. There have been several stories, however, in the Darmstadter Echo (local paper) about the project and the director has been asked to write a series of articles on the findings of the research.

Other Relationships between the Project and the Community

Special mention should again be made of the relationship between the project and the State-recognized Welfare School in Darmstadt. As previously stated, the school director has taken a great interest in the project's proposal that the student social

workers participate as interviewers in the family study. Through this arrangement, a new educational and community function for the project is brought about. The possibilities of extending this type of relationship to other groups, such as the Technische Hochschule, will be explored as opportunity arises.

From time to time, various persons in Darmstadt have come to the project for information and assistance on special problems. City officials, for example, have obtained population data for use in connection with the exhibit now being held. Different offices have called for information about the city which they think the survey has disclosed. It may be expected that such requests will increase in number as more information becomes available.

Relationships Outside of Darmstadt

The interest of universities and other educational institutions in the study is demonstrated by the response to the invitations to the October conference. After the invitations were sent out, many persons wrote requesting additional invitations with the result that more requests have been received than the number of people who can be accommodated. There seems to be widespread interest in the study among economists, sociologists, and other social scientists which will undoubtedly be intensified by the conference.

The specific participation of the Academy of Labor in the work of the community survey has already been described. With the development of the rural phase of the work, the Justus-Liebig-Hochschule at Giessen is also directly involved. Inquiries about the work have been received from other German universities and institutions. Sociologists in the United States have been kept informed of the study through communications sent to the leading journals by the American consultants during their stay.

At least one large city has also expressed interest in the idea of community research. The Lord Mayor of Frankfurt invited the project director to his office in order to learn about the work of the project, its cost, and other details with the idea of possibly inaugurating a similar or related study.

All of these signs of general interest in community social research suggest that the study is a most timely one for Germany today. Research on social problems will probably develop rapidly as soon as funds become available. The work of the Darmstadt Community Survey, being of a pioneer nature, is breaking new ground in the development of methods and setting the pace for subsequent studies.

Use of the Project by Representatives of Military Government

The project has had many visitors from different branches of Military Government. These visitors have often contributed ideas of value and have helped the American advisors to see some of the broader problems within the fields where they are working.

Visits to the project by American experts whose stay in Germany is for a limited duration have probably been valuable to them. In several instances, the project has been used as a place to introduce "Visiting Experts" to some of Germany's problems. This idea seems to be essentially sound. A community research study which embraces most of the aspects of community life should be a good place from which to begin the specialized work on which most of the visiting experts are engaged. This is not to suggest that they can deal with their particular problems in this fashion. The perspective gained from seeing the larger picture as it appears in a local area can, however, be of considerable value. As the Darmstadt survey moves forward and as more and more of its findings are analysed, this function may be even more adequately performed.

Inasmuch as the very concept of a "community" involves manifold aspects of living, the study of a community can be a focus for specialized studies on specific problems. The addition to the Darmstadt project of the research concerning administrative procedures is an illustration of this point. The interest of the Civil Affairs Division in this instance is specialized. The addition of one research person working under the supervision of the director and the senior staff members appears to fulfill the requirements. The resulting specialized study should itself gain in value because it can be seen in the community setting within which it was made. Moreover, the survey can make use of the research in studying public organization in Darmstadt.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This interim report on the Darmstadt Community Survey can be concluded with some general evaluations of the work in progress, comments on the problems which the project faces between now and its completion, and specific recommendations.

Our description of the development of the project has suggested some of its accomplishments and difficulties. On balance, we believe that the project is proving its worth and that it will carry through to a successful conclusion. The problems which it faces, however, should not be underestimated.

In its educational aspect, the project is most certainly achieving its purpose. Individuals are being trained in modern methods of social research. They are putting their skills to practice and as the project continues, they will become increasingly proficient. Perhaps fifty persons will have served at different times as members of the staff before the project is concluded. Most will have had a variety of research experiences which they probably could obtain in no other way in Germany. Some will develop a competence in research which, added to the training they have already received in universities and other institutions, should make them specialists for work in trade unions, industry, government service, and other areas of activity. Some of them will carry their knowledge back into university circles.

It appears that the experiences of the staff and other participants in the work have been liberalizing ones. The program of the project has necessarily required democratic participation with the result that this group experience will undoubtedly leave its impression on the participants.

The staff should not be lost after the project is completed in June 1950. They should be assisted, wherever possible, in obtaining positions where their experiences on the project can be best utilized. If the idea of community research spreads in Germany, as is likely, these staff members could constitute the cadre around which other staffs can be built. If trade unions and other organizations come to use social research more and more, as it seems they will, these staff members could make important contributions to such organizations. If German universities build an empirical social science, as they should, some of these staff members can play significant roles in that development.

Particularly is this true of the director, Dr. Schachtschabel, and the senior staff members, Drs. Hackebrandt, Kuhr, and Meusolf.

They have borne the heaviest responsibility and have therefore broadened their knowledge greatly. The other staff members have also grown and developed.

One concrete way in which the training of the staff for important roles in a democratic society can be continued is by providing some of them - particularly the senior and more advanced members - an opportunity to study and work in the United States. This would be of particular value to them while the experience of an intensive study of a German community is still fresh in their minds. Furthermore, they would be in a position not only to learn much, but also to contribute much.

The inclusion of the "volunteers" from the Academy of Labor has been a valuable extension of the educational influences of the project. The labor movement is assisted through this contribution to worker and union education. The present practice should be continued, and the possibility of drawing in additional students from the Academy as well as students from other labor schools throughout Western Germany should be explored. The idea of short internships on the project for union functionaries, public employees, etc. might also well be considered.

The difficulties, which lie in the area of educational purposes, arise mostly from limitations of time. It takes time to learn new ideas and to grasp the meaning of research methods, particularly when they are untried and when their very character is sometimes contrary to previous thinking and training. Learning the use of tools and working with them is difficult and slow. Caution should be exercised against expecting too much too soon.

The independence of the director and staff to plan, manage and execute the project is of a paramount importance. In our opinion, this conception has been the foundation on which genuine reorientation can occur. This project demonstrates the essential validity of the idea that people must "reorient" themselves. Others may assist and institutional means may be provided, but the process is essentially one of self-education. This project provides a means to facilitate such a development. This may slow down the progress of the actual research work. We are almost painfully aware of this because there have been many times when we wished we could make the decisions, plan, and direct the work ourselves. Even at the risk of completing less than is planned, however, the project should remain the entire product of the German social scientists working on it. If American participation has had any influence on the attitudes of the staff members it has certainly been because they have entered into the work as staff members, and have not attempted to control or direct the study.

Insofar community relationships are concerned, they will very likely continue to develop along the lines which have already appeared. Greater interests in the results and more use by community groups may be expected as the research materials are assembled and analysed. Heavier demands will be made on the staff for special information, and, perhaps, also for special research. In this event, it should be remembered that such demands take away from the time and energy which can be put into completing the work which is already planned. If the total research project is thereby reduced it should be only because evaluation of community relations is considered more important than some parts of the research. This may well be the case, but everyone should be aware that the choice must be made.

The scope for the research and the plans for its development and completion have already been indicated. Each step in the completion of the parts of the research is likely to take longer than the staff now believes, even though they have been forewarned. The pressure to bring the research to a conclusion within the allotted time will mount each month, and the final weeks will be strenuous ones. Probably the director and the staff can surmount some of these difficulties. They are already becoming aware of the amount of work to be done in the time allotted.

In whatever manner the final product may differ from the initial plans, the knowledge about the community, which this project will assemble, will represent a major contribution to social science in Germany. Reliable data will be available to analyze important aspects of German social life not previously touched upon by social research methods. Deeper problems which will ultimately have to be investigated may only be suggested in the present study, but awareness of some of them should arise from the work. The basic patterns of social education in Germany - in the family and elsewhere in other primary childtraining institutions - will only be indicated. The character of authority and its consequence in German society will only be suggested. These and other basic problems must be the subjects for future research. They constitute important questions which have to be answered before German behavior and the nature and structure of German social life can be understood. The Darmstadt Community Survey will be a significant first step in this direction.

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